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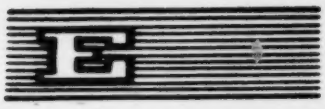

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STUDY ON POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES IN HUMAN SETTLEMENTS TO ACCELERATE RURAL TRANSFORMATION AND REDUCE DISPARITIES BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS IN AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

1. The fourth meeting of the Joint Intergovernmental Regional Committee on Human Settlements and Environment stressed the fact that rural transformation based on sound regional and physical planning was vital to the implementation of Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery and the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development. The meeting appealed to member States to give higher priority to physical planning, development and management of their human settlements and to take necessary measures to integrate physical planning and rural transformation policies and programmes into national socio-economic development planning.

2. This study was prepared pursuant to the resolution on human settlements adopted by the fourth meeting of the Joint Intergovernmental Regional Committee on Human Settlements and Environment. It deals with a problem affecting African countries as a whole and which hinders any development efforts undertaken by African countries.

3. If regional disparities are defined as differences in levels of economic development between areas of the same country, then all African countries have such disparities. Depending on development policies, some regions of the same country may receive more investment than others whereby creating regional disparities. Similarly, such disparities are evident in sectoral investments outside a nation-wide land-use planning.

4. As they grow, cities and their surrounding rural areas cause more and more problems which are so complex that it has not always been possible to find adequate strategies to solve them.

5. Although various methods and regulations that could help to bring about changes in the rural sector and reduce the urban-rural gap have been considered, they do not seem to be well understood perhaps because problems are peculiar to each country and necessarily call for specific solutions. That is why priority should be given to approaches that can be used as a basis for case studies.

6. Many planners, developers, sociologists and geographers in Africa have voiced their opinion on this burning issue. One of the most remarkable opinions was expressed by Jacques Bugnicourt in his 1971 publication on disparities in Africa; it was the first publication based on significant statistics which tackled the problem from an original angle. The present study drew considerably from Bugnicourt's work. In 1985 Cuimbela Diakité tackled the problem from the perspective of a spatial economy while in 1984 ORSTOM researchers concentrated on secondary towns.

7. Other sectoral and land development studies have been carried out since 1970 by various persons, engineering firms and organizations such as USAID, UNDP, and UNFPA.

8. The present study attempts to review what has happened since the colonial period, takes a look at policies and programmes adopted and implemented to reduce rural-urban disparities and proposes a new approach to the problem.

I. APPRAISAL OF THE SITUATION

9. The economic development of space is generally accepted as one of the sciences that deal with delimitation.

10. However, its contents are ambiguous; such ambiguity could stem from the fact that it is either not adequately defined or it is defined in different ways. Problems such as the disparities between urban and rural areas are hindering development efforts in Africa.

11. For several decades, some African countries have endeavoured to set up data banks, draw up development plans and sectoral studies that could be used to reduce the urban-rural gap. Although the objectives selected by the States are not always feasible and hence yield very little, they should be hailed at least as a good beginning.

1.1 Background: Destruction of African Space During the Colonial Period

12. «The whole of Black West Africa is one huge rural area despite its remarkable urban development along the Atlantic Coast.»

13. This assertion by Paul Pelissier in 1966 could be applied to Africa as a whole as it gives an accurate picture of the rural situation in the continent, namely, an area destroyed by a difficult colonial past and unfavourable climatic conditions and by, an implacable drought aggravated by man; an area where the lack of planned development has resulted in deforestation and unsuitable cropping techniques which in turn have created a situation of insecurity and a massive exodus of people to urban centres with a less hostile environment. Such exodus has created an imbalance which is threatening the very survival of the rural farming community who had for a long time demonstrated just how resourceful they were.

Various Approaches to Land Development in Africa

The Colonial Period

14. The colonial powers used two policy instruments, agricultural and administrative, to control land in Africa. With respect to agricultural instruments, individual countries were divided into two areas:

(a) «Useful» areas where cash crops were grown;
(b) Peripheral and unmarked areas where no crops were grown.

15. In the «useful» areas, the necessary facilities were quickly built; however, as a result of the single-crop economy, the traditional social structures were destroyed.

16. The peripheral areas were much less affected. However, like the «useful» areas, they suffered from administrative consequences such as changes in chieftaincy systems and new administrative divisions totally alien to Africa. Independence has not brought many changes.

17. The approach to rural areas has been about the same as during the colonial period and export-oriented economic and administrative policies have been pursued. In such a situation, it is difficult to speak of urban-rural relationships since the system which was established itself created the disparities mentioned earlier.

18. Most African countries have inherited relatively diverse expanses of land made up of territorial units and an externally-oriented economy characterized by all sorts of imbalances that aggravate their dependence on the outside world.

19. From an economic viewpoint, the imbalances are apparent in agriculture which is the main source of foreign exchange. Agriculture, which was a means of maintaining the social balance in pre-colonial times became a commercial activity under colonization which distorted the cultural and social fabrics of African society so severely that it still has not been able to come to terms with it. In 1960, Charles V. Piarassouba summed up the situation thus: «Agriculture was organized according to available resources and its main purpose was to provide sustenance to rural communities and therefore was the foundation of a way of living and of an economy in which trading in factors of production and produce was irrelevant; when there such trade, it was done among people with blood ties or allies and had only a social meaning». The spread of and trade in cash crops encouraged the rural population to seek monetary profit; this destroyed the social and land use structure of African society.

20. Colonization and its impact on various sectors of space in Africa is largely responsible for the deterioration in the present situation. We do not think that the post-independence era has wrought any significant changes in Africa.

21. The terms of transferring financial resources from the agricultural/rural sector to the economy as a whole have remained the same. And from whatever aspect the trend is viewed (prices, income, budget, investment), the rural sector has always been the loser. It got back only a tiny fraction of what it lost.

22. Given this situation, decision makers (politicians, planners) should adopt new policies to develop rural areas and correct the disparities between the regions.

1.2 The Land Situation in Post-colonial Africa

23. Since independence, the development of African capital cities has led to imbalances and major social changes that have influenced standards of living, housing and spatial planning in general. Raw materials have been taken from the villages to the cities and caused serious disparities between rural and urban areas: the economic (agriculture) and human potential of the rural areas have fuelled the development of urban areas while the rural areas have received nothing in return except increasing poverty, as described by C. Vidrovitch (1985).

24. «In barely less than half a century, a steadily swelling mass of peasants has flocked from the countryside into mining, administrative and or industrial towns fleeing poverty and a shortage and lured by the mirage of a new life as wage earners and participants in the money economy and by the prospect of Western-type needs - such as clothes, radio and entertainment (football and cinema). The growth rate of the urban population which started expanding around the 1930s has, since the Second World War, particularly since the independence of most African countries, turned into an unprecedented explosion which is comparable to the urban phenomenon in Asia and Latin America.

25. The urban population explosion is a dramatic reverse trend. Until recently, Africa as a whole had a predominantly rural population (85 per cent of total population in 1950 and still over 70 per cent in 1980); between 1950 and 1980, the population tripled but the rural areas accounted for nearly two-thirds of the population increase. Between 1980 and 1990, not only this trend will

accelerate (161 million more people that will double the population in 23 years, as compared to 171 million between 1960 and 1980) but the majority of the population will be urban (55 per cent). This movement will gather momentum between now and the end of the century: between 1990 and the year 2000 there are expected to be 126 million more city dwellers (nearly two thirds of total growth). In other words, during the second half of the twentieth century Africa's urban population will have increased ten fold.

26. «Within each of the 50 African States (including North Africa) population pressure is not uniform. Some like Nigeria (93 million) and Ethiopia (31 million) are heavily populated; some are vast: like Zaire and the Sudan; some are less densely populated such as Mauritania and the Niger and some, like Gabon, are obviously underpopulated. With the exception of the specific cases Rwanda and Burundi which are densely populated rural countries in the heart of Africa and the enclaves within South Africa such as Lesotho and Swaziland, African countries are facing an unprecedented wave of urbanization. Urban growth in Kenya is close to 6 per cent. It is a major phenomenon in the contemporary world with no equivalent and it affects the whole continent».

27. This situation has resulted in disparities between urban and rural areas and between regions, reflecting a whole set of factors and complex relationships that make it difficult to design an approach that is transferable.

II. REGIONAL DISPARITIES AND LAND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

(a) The concept of disparities

28. As far as the main definitions and causes of disparities are concerned, some scholars consider them as inequalities of all sorts between various zones of the same area. Furthermore, such disparities could be the result of a policy of neglect (during the colonial period) or of priorities (political options).

29. Those scholars who have been studying what form disparities take and how best they can be understood have put forward the following key criteria:

(a) Insufficient knowledge of the environment, explained by Bugnicourt as «opacity effects»;

(b) Provision of inadequate infrastructure: this is specific to each country;

(c) Migration and despair.

30. Bugnicourt rightly points out that an analysis of the disparities is made more complex by the specific nature of each country where the potential and development levels are different. A further difficulty has to do with the scope of analysis.

31. Such difficulties have not discouraged African countries nor have they weakened their resolve to eliminate disparities between national capital cities and other regions and between such regions and their hinterland.

32. Most development plans and urban land development plans designed by African countries are aimed at achieving a better balance in the utilization of space. However, statistics show that there are variations in indicators, particularly in facilities and services, population, school attendance rates, production, industrial decentralization and employment.

(b) Disparities between rural and urban areas
(Preliminary observations on the urban and rural environment in Africa)

33. Although the majority of Africa's population is rural, the rural areas are vast and underpopulated while the towns which cover a small surface area are densely populated.

34. The rural population is almost exclusively engaged in the (primary) agricultural sector while the urban population earns its living mainly from the secondary and tertiary sectors.

35. As a percentage of total population, urban population in black Africa is currently the lowest in the world; it was 32 per cent in 1985 but its growth rate is one of the highest ever recorded. The urban population will remain smaller than the rural population for some time to come.

Example: in 1970	Urban population as a percentage of total population
Senegal	32 per cent
Côte d'Ivoire	29 per cent

36. The growth of the African population is not alarming; however, cities, particularly administrative capitals, are growing very fast.

37. Spontaneous growth, which is the main consequence of rural migration affects virtually all countries in black Africa. It jeopardizes the economic development of African States since it usually takes place at the expense of the rural areas.

38. Between 1920 and 1940, there was an increase in the population of all categories of European cities. The same thing occurred in developing countries but in more significant proportions.

39. From 1940 to 1960, the populations of all European cities increased but the larger the city, the lower the population growth rate. What happened in Africa, during the same period was the opposite in the sense that the larger the city, the higher was the increase. This was particularly true for the main administrative capitals whose population increased three, four or even five fold.

40. On the other hand, the increase in the rural population is much slower since it depends on both fertility and mortality and other equally important factors mentioned among our criteria and to which reference shall be made in the following chapters.

41. The purpose of this paper is therefore to help provide a better definition of the relationships between the cities and the rural areas and provide answers to questions about African rural areas and their relationships with the urban areas.

42. While physical development is necessary, it should be made clear that in Africa, the land in rural areas is developed basically for agricultural purposes; other activities are marginal to agriculture.

43. Although there have been changes, this trend is still dominant. No African State can deny the fact that its rural areas have been badly developed; this is particularly evident in agriculture where there has been a rapid reduction in the active labour force, the traditional values of society have been destroyed, and ideas derived from the modern economy have taken root. Such changes in the rural areas cause serious problems in land development.

44. The development of the rural areas is not a sectoral problem. It is a global issue which affects all the activities, values and concerns of our time.

45. What should be considered now is how to go about saving the rural world caught in a society in a state of flux.

46. Economic logic calls for a complete change in the structures of African society; such change affects the balance between different areas as a result of settlement patterns, activities and life-styles. It requires all sectors of activity to be efficient, productive and competitive. African rural areas have not been able to meet the challenge.

47. In traditional societies, agriculture was both a way of life and a way of land management. It was the hub of the crafts industry of the rural communities. Although the cultural and economic relations of villages were few, they were stable and peaceful. Very few people lived in the cities. The economic and political power of cities were derived from the rural areas.

48. Today, the effects of industrialization have disrupted this pattern and opened up new perspectives. The anarchy of rural areas has been shattered. As the following statistics on some African countries show, cities have become the driving force behind economic, social and demographic change.

(c) Planning policies in some African countries

49. After independence, most countries set up political and administrative structures to implement future development plans. Very few countries managed to implement the plans fully.

50. More often than not, development plans have consisted of lists of projects carried out through international grants or as a result of political pressure from the beneficiaries. Since there is hardly any follow up or evaluation nor any homogeneous and quality information, satisfactory performance could hardly be expected. Disparities between and within regions (between urban and rural areas) are widening; planning techniques focus solely on the national level making any social trickle down effects that normally come from comprehensive development increasingly uncertain. Central organization is still based on categories of activities without being supplemented by decentralized organization.

51. Most of the problems remain unsolved since they can be solved only within a regional context.

52. For sound rational planning, any action in spatial development must take into account the whole area in spite of its diversity.

53. Very few countries have devised genuine land development or even space management plans. Far greater progress has been made in economic development than in land management. Some of these countries that did devise land development plans used a two-fold approach that favoured the urban at the expense of the rural areas. Very few selected an integrated approach that could have reduced the urban-rural gap.

54. The shortcomings that have been indicated in these States with policies and programmes nevertheless constitute substantial progress when one considers that other States have programmes to address only specific needs.

BURKINA FASO

Country profile

Population

55. In 1985, Burkina Faso which has an area of 274,000 km^2 had a total population of approximately 7 million - an average density of 26 inhabitants per km^2. The rural sector provided a living for nearly 90 per cent of the active population and accounted for 45 per cent of the gross domestic product.

Population distribution

56. The population is very unevenly distributed. The northern part has four inhabitants per km^2 while the Mossi plateau has 70 inhabitants per km^2.

57. The annual growth rate is 2.2 per cent and 200,000 to 250,000 people migrate abroad every year or move to other domestic cities.

58. The urban sector is quite small; 96 per cent of the urban population is concentrated in three urban centres one of which is Ouagadougou, the capital. The urban population accounted for 5 per cent of the total population in 1960, it grew to 8 per cent in 1975 and to 11 per cent in 1982; the annual growth rate of the urban population between 1960 and 1970 was 5.7 per cent and it was 6 per cent between 1970 and 1982.

Facilities

59. There are very few facilities as a result of low investments and little development. Although a few disparities were partially eliminated this was done under sectoral programmes and not as part of a human settlements plan or programme.

60. Until 1983, there was no coherent and sustained national planning programme. Since then, town development plans have been drawn up. Such plans should help to reduce the disparities between the country's regions.

Planning policy from independence until 1985

61. Until 1983, Burkina Faso implemented a sectoral planning policy that failed to correct the disparities in the country. Development plans existed only on paper. With the advent of the Military Committee, a national agency embarked on a bold national planning policy. All existing human settlements development measures were maintained and strengthened; such measures included:

- housing policy;
- land tenure policy;
- administrative decentralization; and
- the relationships between the urban and the rural sectors and the advancement of the rural populations.

REPUBLIC OF GUINEA

Population Distribution by Natural Region

Region	Area Km²	1972		1980	
		Population	Density	Population	Density
Basse Guinée	36,200	1,391,679	38.2	1,723,216	47.6
Moyenne Guinée	63,600	1,674,391	26.3	2,096,295	32.9
Haute Guinée	96,667	1,012,328	10.5	1,262,632	13.1
Guinée Forestière	49,374	1,074,896	21.8	1,340,701	37.2
Total	245,857	5,143,294	20.7	6,412,824	26.1

62. Population pressure is greater in Basse Guinée where most facilities and means of production are located.

63. By the year 2,000, Guinea will have a population of nine million, with an annual growth rate of 3.6 per cent. By then, the urban population is estimated to account for 25 per cent of the total population.

64. Migration from the rural areas is another factor of imbalance between the regions. Ever since the colonial period, Moyenne Guinée has been a reservoir of farm labour: migration from region to region is done in parallel with international migration (example: towards Senegal).

65. Migration to the cities has been increasing steadily and this has an adverse impact on the spatial distribution of land use, agriculture and the production sector.

Relationships between the urban and rural areas

66. Guinea's rural sector like that of most African countries contributes 40 per cent to GDP formation. It provides a living for 80 per cent of the population and it has an annual growth rate of 1 per cent. With 7,400,000 hectares of arable land and an area under cultivation of 1,100,000 hectares, the rural sector is the backbone of the economy.

The urban sector

67. The urban population was estimated at 437,000 people in 1970. It increased to 913,000 people in 1980; its annual growth rate was 6.2 per cent between 1960 and 1970 and 5.5 per cent between 1970 and 1980. The city of Conakry had 500,000 people in 1980 and presently it is home to 15 per cent of the country's population. Like most African capital cities, Conakry is a primate city; all the facilities and services are concentrated there. Faranah is also a fast growing city; its growth rate is, however, not as fast as Conakry's.

68. No reliable data are available to better illustrate the imbalances within and between the four regions.

69. Urban classification has been based on two main criteria: population and the concentration of facilities. Hence, cities have been classified into three types: type one which is represented by Conakry only; type two being cities with more than 20,000 inhabitants and type three, cities with less than 20,000 inhabitants.

70. In 1980, Guinea had 6,000 km of national highways including 1,252 km of paved roads and 8,000 km of interregional roads in a rather decrepit condition.

Telecommunications

Guinea had a telephone density of 0.16 per 100 inhabitants in 1980.

The socio-economic situation of the regions

71. The following table shows that there are two main problems: the data available are too sketchy to permit a clear assessment of the situation and there is a yawning gap between Conakry and the other regions.

TABLE : SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE REGIONS

	Conakry	Basse Guinée	Moyenne Guinée	Haute Guinée	Guinée Forestière	Total
Timber industry	1	-	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]
Agro-industry	3	1	2	3	1	10
Building materials	5	1	-	1	-	7
Processing industry as a whole	23	2	3	4	6	38
Mining industry as a whole	-	3	-	1	-	4
Hydroelectric dam	-	2	1	1	-	4
Paved roads (km)	165	316	209	267	215	1252
Railway (km)	-	629	168	272	-	1069
Port	1	1	-	-	-	2
Cities type 1	1	-	-	-	-	1
type 2	-	2	2	2	1	7
type 3	-	5	9	7	6	27
Hospitals, 1st and 2nd category	2	3	2	2	1	10
University	1	1	-	2	-	4
Cities with electric power	1	5	4	4	1	15
Cities with water supply	1	5	4	3	1	14

Source: B. Krumah: «Expérience guinéenne sur les politiques mises en oeuvre dans le domaine de l'Aménagement du territoire (1985)

72. Although Guinea became independent in 1958, it is only recently that economic and spatial policy was incorporated into a general planning framework. A ministry of land development was established in December 1984; until then, studies undertaken with respect to land development were sectoral. The five economic and social development plans that have been prepared since independence have looked more like sectoral investment plans than integrated development plans.

Shortcomings of planning in Guinea

73. As mentioned earlier, Guinea has many shortcomings with respect to planning: Guinea started planning how to manage its space very late; economic and social development policies emphasized investment while the spatial aspect which should have served as a foundation for such investment in order to ensure equitable development was totally overlooked. In 1985, Bréhim Kourouma indicated other shortcomings, i.e., the lack of methodology, shortage of data that were vital to a proper understanding of problems, the fact that the people concerned were not involved in devising programmes and the lack of qualified planners.

SENEGAL

74. Statistics available cover only the eight previous administrative regions.

Population

75. Senegal has a total population of 6,038,000 (1992 figures) with an annual natural increase of 2.9 per cent. The density is 31 per km^2 and the urban population accounts for 39 per cent of the total population.

(a) Emigration: About 80,000 people from the various regions of Senegal lived in France between 1979 and 1980.

(b) Domestic migration: The 1976 census figures indicated that as a result of interregional migration, approximately 655,377 people lived in regions other than those of their birth. The Cap-Vert region was one of those affected by such interregional migration.

Population distribution

Regional disparities in population density

76. Population density in the Cap-Vert region was 1,464 inhabitants per square kilometre in 1971 and 2,336 inhabitants per km^2 in 1992 while for the same period the national rate grew from 23 to 31 inhabitants per km^2. Cap-Vert's population density was 64 times higher than that of the rest of Senegal in 1971 and 75 times higher in 1992.

The table below shows Cap Vert's population density compared to that of other regions

REGION / YEAR	CASAMANCE	DIOURBEL	LOUGA	FLEUVE	S.ORIEN-TAL	S.SALOUM	THIES	SENEGAL
1971	61 fois	63,65		146,4	292,8	39,57	15,41	63,65
1973	63,38	63,36		144	316	40,62	16	66
1974	65,92	68,67		437,33	329,60	41,20	16,32	65,92
1975	68,52	68,67		142,75	342,60	41,78	16,63	71,38
1976	68,85	18,27	119,33	137,69	358	42,62	17,05	68,85
1977	71,67	18,82	124,20	143,31	372,60	43,33	17,25	69
1978	71,78	19	129,20	149,08	387,60	44,05	17,46	71,78
1979	75,35	19,76	135,67	156,54	407	45,22	17,85	72,68
1980	76,32	20,95	142,47	164,38	427,40	45,47	18,26	73,69
1981	85,57	21,79	144,38	177,69	385	47,14	19,41	79,66
1982	80,62	21,65	146,13	179,85	389,67	46,76	19,16	75,42

Cap-Vert's area is much smaller than that of the other regions.

	CASAMANCE	DIOURBEL	LOUGA	FLEUVE	S. ORIEN-TAL	S.SALOUM	THIES	SENEGAL
Ratio to other regions	51,55	7,93	53,07	80,2	108,4	43,54	12,00	357,69

Source: Statistics and indicators per region, Senegal, DPC 1984.

77. The Cap-Vert region covers 0,29 per cent of Senegal but it has 19 per cent of total population, 70 per cent of the total number of physicians, 69 per cent of total hospital beds, 80 per cent of industrial concerns, 67 per cent of all salaries. Thus, Dakar which is already a primate city, makes the existing gap between it and the other regions even wider.

The rural aspect of the regions

78. The rurality criterion gives a partial picture of disparities in each region. The higher the criterion the more rural the region is.

79. The following rurality ratios were recorded in 1976: Cap-Vert 0.40, Sénégal Oriental 159.25, Fleuve 99.16, Louga 70.77, Casamance 70.43, Siné Saloum 56.21, Thiès 14.15 and Diourbel 10.23. Although these figures are old, they are still valid.

80. The figures above show just how wide the gap is between Cap-Vert region and the other regions. Cap-Vert is well ahead of the other regions in terms of density, domestic migration and urban development and this proves just how under-developed Senegal is. The rurality criterion is almost nil in Dakar if the mode of calculation and definition adopted by planners in Senegal is used, namely, multiplying the ratio of the regional rural population over the regional population by the ratio of total regional rural population over the national rural population, and multiplying the product by the converse of density.

81. The disparity between Cap-Vert and the other regions is sharply highlighted by the distribution of public facilities; the other regions lag far behind.

82. Although investments have had a slight impact on developments in the socio-economic situation, the impact has not been strong enough to alter the imbalances between the regions; it has in fact heightened them.

83. Senegal is one of the few African countries to establish a genuine planning policy aimed at reducing the disparities between and within regions although the achievements so far are not very significant.

84. Immediately after Senegal's independence in 1960, the first development plan that was prepared aimed at giving the country an integrated development plan that would cover all urban and rural areas. There were policy changes in 1962, subsequent plans (second to sixth plan) were markedly sectoral in nature.

Physical planning bodies

85. Senegal's initial physical planning efforts focused on the rural sector. As early as 1962, an office responsible for the physical planning of local communities and villages was established within the Planning Commission. The aim of the office was to promote and co-ordinate primary development activities for balanced local development. In 1964, the Rural Physical Planning Office became a national department under the Directorate of Planning, with its responsibilities extended to the whole country; it also retained its initial role. In 1967, it became a Directorate within the Ministry of Planning and Development.

86. Although Senegal has a national physical development plan, its policy with regard to physical planning has remained nothing but a theory. Serious planning really started with the fifth economic development plan where regional aspects were taken into account.

87. With the Sixth Plan the Government became more aware of the need to make the development of rural space its main objective. This brought to a half the monotonous chain of plans that had started in 1960. This was a reversal of a rural development policy considered by many as a dramatic failure in view of its performance.

88. In the case of Senegal, despite efforts made at the institutional level, regional disparities continue to widen.

GABON

89. Gabon has a total population of about one million. Nearly 500,000 inhabitants or nearly 50 per cent of the population live in Libreville, the capital, Port Gentil and Franceville. Seventy-two per cent of all economic activities are concentrated in the three cities. These figures show that there is a clear-imbalance between the three cities and the rest of the country.

90. Since 1970, due to economic expansion, urban areas, particularly the three cities mentioned above have developed rapidly. Since the other urban centres were not able to provide jobs for their population, they have gradually become labour reservoirs.

91. The three cities flourished because of oil and mineral exploitation and the development of tertiary activities. During the same period, there was a decline in traditional activities particularly in agriculture, further aggravating regional disparities. Such disparities have triggered considerable migration of rural folk to the urban areas; this trend is on the rise and its immediate consequences are an ageing rural population and a decline in agriculture.

92. If the trend continues, there will be financial, economic, social and cultural imbalances. This prompted the Government to draw up a master plan on national physical planning in 1977.

93. The overall objectives of the plan are:

(a) To strengthen national unity, reduce regional disparities and develop the country's potential;

(b) To regulate rural-urban migration in order to achieve an optimum management of human resources and improve living conditions in the rural areas;

(c) To ensure that all Gabonese are thoroughly conversant with and are involved in the country's development ideal.

94. The operational objectives of the plan are:

(a) To provide Gabon with the appropriate agencies to ensure the successful implementation of its physical planning policy;

(b) To establish appropriate bodies that would ensure the active involvement of the people in efforts aimed at developing their provinces;

(c) To promote a spatial, economic and socio-cultural restructuring policy designed to reduce disparities and inequalities in the provinces;

(d) To develop the provinces by making use of their potential and renewable resources so as to promote sustained and meaningful development that would encourage the rural population to remain where they are;

(e) To co-ordinate regional endeavours with a view to including them in the national development planning framework since the provinces should not develop in a disorderly fashion.

95. The successful implementation of the overall national physical plan should enable Gabon to achieve a measure of balanced development:

(a) among its provinces;

(b) between modern and traditional activities;

(c) between the exploitation of mineral and oil resources and the development of renewable resources;

(d) between the cities and the countryside;

(e) in trade and in the movement of goods.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

96. In the Central African Republic, the urban population accounts for nearly 34 per cent of the total population which was estimated at 2,500,000 in 1984.

97. According to a study by Seraphin Komariamatoure entitled «Human Settlements Planning in the Central African Republic» (1985), there was no physical planning policy in the country prior to 1981; the capital, Bangui, continued to grow at the expense of other urban centres, rural migration was on the increase and the gap between Bangui and the rest of the country was widening. This concentration of activities in Bangui had two main consequences: spontaneous urbanization characterized by anarchic occupation of space and the depopulation of the hinterland.

98. To remedy the situation, action was taken at national level and the main objectives were as follows:

(a) To initiate and direct the development of the hinterland in the framework of an integrated development policy;

(b) To redesign town plans;

(c) To spell out, in detailed plans, the same guidelines as those in the master plans.

99. At the same time, a land code which stipulates that the State is presumed to be the proprietor of all vacant urban and rural land was promulgated so as to facilitate the implementation of physical planning policies.

100. These new directives should make it possible to modify all legislation and regulations governing the occupation of space in urban and rural areas of the Central African Republic.

RWANDA

101. Rwanda has a population of 6.5 million, more than 90 per cent of which lives in the rural areas. It has a population density of 200 inhabitants per km^2 and an annual population growth rate of 3.6 per cent. The population has been estimated at nearly 10 million in the year 2000 and about 20 per cent is expected to live in the towns. In view of the mountainous nature of the country and strong population pressure, Rwanda has had considerable erosion and lost arable land. This situation is complicated by intensive deforestation and encroachment on farm land.

102. In view of that situation, the Government of Rwanda worked out a human settlements development strategy based on the following principle: rationalization of the use of space and consolidation of utilities; the development of appropriate land tenure and institutional procedures; the development of a physical development policy; the strengthening of the role of local communities in the planning and management of human settlements, increasing the supply of housing units through the organization of financing and a systematic recovery of costs; and promoting the production of building materials.

TUNISIA

103. The population of Tunisia was approximately 6,660,000 in 1981. The northern part of the country accounted for 4,155,000 inhabitants or 62 per cent of total population. The northern region is the economically active area, the south being part of the desert.

104. In a study entitled «vers une intégration de la planification des établissements humains à la planification socio-économique en Tunisie» (1985) Naget Khantouche, indicated that the first decade after independence was devoted mostly to urban management to satisfy needs in housing, utilities and employment and thus to provide Tunisian cities with a coherent spatial framework allowing each city to limit its expansion and prevent any spontaneous and disorderly growth. All the towns had development plans.

105. During the second decade, specific and general studies were carried out in both the urban and rural sectors. The studies were on the planning of various sectors of development.

106. The third decade started with the preparation of a national physical development plan which was aimed at ensuring coherence and integration of sectoral projects and policies in terms of space. Such a plan had to be prepared in order to reduce regional disparities between the well-endowed area of the north-eastern coast and the rest of Tunisia. It also paved the way for establishing

secondary and tertiary activities throughout the country.

107. The national physical development plan is the basis of human settlements planning in Tunisia. Its main objectives are: to integrate the whole country by building infrastructures to facilitate trade, to preserve natural resources; and to reduce regional disparities by spreading economic activities throughout the country.

108. The national physical development plan is based on two principles: concentrating measures of a national scope on a number of development focal points and gradually developing a network of secondary human settlements that would provide the necessary support to the development of rural areas.

109. In order to work out such measures, the country was divided into development regions on the basis of the following criteria: they should be relatively homogenuous groupings; they should have a transport network; each region should have an optimum size of around 500,000 to one million inhabitants, the ideal framework for deversified economic development; each region should have at least one major satellite city to act as point of attraction for rural emigrants.

110. The creation of development regions which are the spatial framework for planning all the economic and social development measures, plans have been made to establish urban centres with attractive community utilities and infrastructures offering good development opportunities.

ZAMBIA

111. In a study entitled «Sub-Regional and Regional Strategies and Programmes for the Development of HUman Settlements in Africa: The case of Zambia» (1985), C. MBAVU pointed out that Zanbia has a population of 5,700,000 and an annual growth rate of 3.1 per cent. By the year 2000, and if the present growth rate continues, Zambia may expect to have a population of more than 10,500,000. Rural population accounts for 60 per cent of total population while the remaining 40 per cent live in urban areas.

112. The urban population has been growing steadily and most urban areas have doubled their size over the past 10 years. The annual urban growth rate is 7 per cent. Most of Zambia's urban population is concentrated in eight centres consisting of 60 per cent of the urban population located almost exclusively in the Copperbelt. The largest of these centres is Lusaka which has more than tripled its population over the past decade.

113. Zambia's population is distributed over four types of human settlements classified as follows: Ten large urban areas with a population of over 50,000, 31 small intermediate towns with a population of between 5,000 and 50,000, 40 rural townships with a population of between 1,000 and 5,000 and a number of nucleated villages with a population of less than 1,000.

114. The increase in the population of the Copperbelt is attributable to the fact that the bulk of the economic activities in the country are concentrated in the Copperbelt. The increase in population is attributable to natural growth and to rural migration. Regional disparities are the reason for the Decentralization Act that came into effect in 1980. The Act was the result of an effort to revitalize rural towns and to encourage the participation of

all people in the development process. The law gave District Councils the responsibility for guiding and supervising all development activities in their respective areas as well as the formulation and preparation of district development plans.

115. The Decentralization Act also created a hierarchy of towns and centres linked through an elaborated administrative machinery. Most of the bigger towns and intermediate towns serve as provincial headquarters while the smaller towns serve as district headquarters. District councils are expected to be eventually self-reliant in socio-economic life in general. While they assess housing demands, set their settlement goals, formulate their housing programmes, identify resources or potential resources, the Central Government assesses the overall objectives and resources position for the formulation of overall settlement policies and strategies in the country. Policy and strategy formulation therefore constitutes two levels of activity, i.e. at national and local levels. All the programmes of the District Councils are designed to fit in with the five-year national development plans.

116. The disparities between the Copperbelt and the rest of the country have been reviewed in the preceding paragraphs. Despite the implementation of many regional development programmes, the situation has not changed. What has been lacking so far is a genuine urban development policy at the national level and co-ordination of the various urban development programmes. Although, rural development is the key to Zambia's development, it cannot be treated in isolation from urban development. Co-ordinated urban development should be an essential and complementary part of rural development policy. It is in this context, that the Government of Zambia is endeavouring to establish a national human settlements strategy. Such a strategy will indicate the most desirable and feasible growth and distribution of urban population in Zambia, the methods and policy measures to be adopted and the time frame required to attaining the new objectives of the strategy.

KENYA

117. Kenya's total population was 15,300,000 in 1979. By the year 2000, the population is expected to be 34 million. The growth rate of the urban population is 15.2 per cent. If this trend continues the urban population will be 10 million by the year 2000 while the rural population will be 24 million. As a result of their higher level of development, three main cities, namely, Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu account for most of the urban population.

118. Migration from the rural areas into the cities is the reason behind the high urban population growth rate.

119. Kenya's human settlements development strategy aims at controlling urbanization while satisfying the objectives of accelerating rural development in order to bring about balanced economic development. The components of such a strategy can be summarized as follows:

(a) The development of service centres for the provision of services such as health, education, trade, water and power in order to improve the access of such services to the rural population thereby improving the standards of living of the rural population. Such service centres were selected on the basis

of Christaller's central place theory. In Kenya, there is a designated local centre for every 5,000 rural population, a market centre for every 15,000 rural population, a rural centre with administrative, social, educational and cultural services for every 40,000 rural population and an urban centre for every 120,000 rural population;

(b) The development of growth centres by selecting 20 intermediate towns in addition to Nairobi and Mombasa. Such towns should be located in development potential areas to promote regional growth. Such towns should be located in relation to population distribution, resource distribution, the transport network and level of infrastructure. The Government has adopted a policy of encouraging industrialists to move from the main cities and to relocate in the intermediate urban centres and take advantage of the local development potential;

(c) The development of an integrated transport and communications network to open up all rural enclaves in Kenya;

(d) Rural development to increase rural productivity and improve the standards of living of the rural population by developing infrastructure, services and production activities.

ETHIOPIA

120. Ethiopia has a population of approximately 43 million, out of which only 11.3 per cent live in urban areas. Thirty per cent of the urban population live in the capital, Addis Ababa. Total population growth is 2.9 per cent per year and if the present trend continues, Ethiopia's population will be 56.4 million in 1994, the end of the 1983-1994 Ten-Year Development Plan. The human settlements distribution pattern in the rural areas is one of the reasons for the low productivity of the agricultural sector. To remedy the situation, the Ethiopian Government has embarked on a nation-wide reconstruction and equipment programme.

121. The lack of infrastructure and low agricultural productivity are some of the causes of rural migration. Such causes are not specific to Ethiopia but they apply to the continent as a whole.

122. Despite the considerable efforts of the Ethiopian Government, there is still much to be done in the urban areas particularly with respect to housing where annual demand is about 30,000 units. Accordingly, in the area of urban development, the Ten-Year Development Plan has focused on land management, building materials, financing, labour, technology and institutional mechanisms.

123. Ethiopia's physical planning and human settlements development programme will continue to be based on the programme of restructuring rural space through villagization and the provision of economic and social amenities and services and means of production. At the end of 1986, 15 per cent of the villages with a population of 1.5 million had been successfully resettled. Although they are major regional development policies of the Government, resettlement and villagization were not conceptualised as objectives of the Ten-Year Development Plan per se but as important strategies for attaining the objectives of the Plan.

TANZANIA

124. Tanzania has a population of 21 million and an annual growth rate of 3.3 per cent. The rural population accounts for 85 per cent of total population and its growth rate is 2.6 per cent per year while the urban population is increasing at a rate of 9 per cent per year. Urban centres are more resettlement centres than production centres generating a process of national development. Rural migration is triggered by the fact that there are more and better developed facilities and infrastructure and better employment opportunities in the urban centres.

125. The long-term strategy adopted by the Tanzanian Government to reduce the disparities between rural and urban areas is based on the principle that urban and rural settlements are interdependent. Hence, a national and regional planning system reflecting such interdependence was established within the National Land Use Planning Commission and the National Environmental Council, to enable the two bodies to reflect the need for regional physical planning as one of the priorities of the National Economic Development Plan. The two bodies take an active part in the decisions relating to the location of industrial units and large development projects so as to monitor population movements from the rural to the urban areas.

LESOTHO

126. Lesotho is a land-locked country which is completely surrounded by South Africa, with a population of 1.5 million; it has an area of 30,350 km^2. Three-quarters of the country is covered by mountains, the highest of which is over 3,400 metres above sea level. Only 13 per cent of the land is arable and over 70 per cent of the total population lives on the arable land at the foot of the mountains.

127. In a study entitled «Settlements Planning Experience in Lesotho: Historical Analysis», Benedict E. Mateka says that since Lesotho became independent in 1966, South Africa has reduced the number of migrant workers recruited in Lesotho. That situation has caused a considerable in-flow of migrants from the rural areas to the towns in the interior of the country. Thus, the population of Maseru, the capital, has grown from 20,333 inhabitants in 1966 to 53,031 in 1984 and to 120,000 inhabitants in 1985. The annual growth rate of Maseru is 12 per cent and that of the other towns 5 per cent. The problems of poverty, underemployment, squatter colonies, defective housing and low resources are increasing every day. Human settlements planning is based on the Land Act of 1979, the Town and Country Planning Act of 1980, the Survey Act of 1980, the Valuation and Rating Act of 1980, the Valuation and Rating Act of 1980 and the Urban Government Act of 1983.

128. The aim of the Land Act of 1979 was to introduce a leasehold system with transferable rights which could also be mortgaged, sub-leased and inherited, organize regional space in order to establish zones to be urbanized and preserve agricultural areas.

129. The Town and Country Planning Act of 1980 has been enacted to complement the Land Act by focusing on land use control. It enables the preparation of overall fiscal development plans.

130. The aim of the Survey Act of 1980 was to control aerial photography over the country and to license private surveyors.

131. The Valuation and Rating Act of 1980 enables valuation and rating of properties as a source of revenue for local authorities. It also enables the maintenance of sites and recovery of their costs.

132. The Urban Government Act of 1983 enables the creation of municipal authorities to deal with human settlements affairs at the local level. It is a crucial legislation in that it makes it possible to monitor the development of human settlements.

III. THE NEED FOR A NEW INTEGRATED APPROACH TO RURAL AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT AIMED AT REDUCING DISPARITIES

133. In spite of the determination of African countries to reduce disparities between the rural and urban areas, not much has been achieved in concrete terms. Some of the many reasons for this poor performance are that the wrong tools and approaches were used.

134. As indicated earlier, development plans are implemented on a sectoral basis and their objectives over economic, regional or spatial studies are seldom integrated into an overall project that could lead to a global approach. Some of the traditional approaches are reviewed below, they will be followed by our proposals.

1.3 Some traditional approaches

135. Planning involves organizing the use of production factors in order to maintain appropriate balances in a given society or State. Therefore, planning can be considered as a method or tool which is used to ensure a better distribution of production factors within a country. Plans may be sectoral, spatial, regional or integrated.

(a) The national «sectoral» plan

136. The national sectoral plan summarizes sectoral options for a specific period (3, 4, 7 years etc.). The problems and objectives of that period are spelt out in a timetable. Plans comprise problems, objectives, strategy and timetable. National plans comprise a starting point, an objective and the means to attain the objective.

(b) Relationship between national plans and spatial development

137. In 1970, Maurice Tournier rightly highlighted the monumental error committed for many years in overlooking the relationship between economic planning and spatial problems. He wrote: «Since planning is defined as the optimization of available resources for producing goods and services, there is no need to study the relationship between planning and space: the relationship seems to have overlooked planning which is the application of macro-economic theories conceived by the State, the sole decision-making entity. For that reason, (often due to a lack of appropriate techniques)», most of the earlier plans overlooked that dimension. This shortcoming in sectoral planning has to do with the fact that in macro-economics it is assumed that space is homogeneous whereas the

concept of space is not as simple as it looks. There are several types of space each with a specific character. The geographer's space is characterized by its diversity; economic space is defined by the relationships between economic operators. The physical planner usually looks at space more in terms of its social aspects. The concept has two meanings. First, according to some scholars, it covers social phenomena. Unlike ordinary maps that contain only physical elements, the sociological map indicates areas of behaviour; it is a geographical assessment of sociological facts. There should be a measure of interrelationship between the various types of plans that would make it possible to maintain a balance in the overall use of space. Although sectoral planning or economic planning in general and spatial planning are different, they seem to be two aspects of the same phenomenon: the development process which covers several dimensions that cannot be considered separately.

138. First, the economic dimension deals generally with GDP growth and the most effective way of attaining growth targets while ensuring proper harmony between the various sectors of the economy. The social or human dimension concerns the equitable distribution of gross domestic production among the people while enabling them to satisfy their basic needs of shelter, food, clothing, health and education through productive employment (elimination of unemployment). The more complex concept of socio-economic development and social justice (growth and equitable distribution of income and employment) is derived from the simpler concept of economic growth involving the population which must be the beneficiary of such growth.

139. However, the above description of development would be incomplete if growth is not equitably distributed throughout a particular country; such balanced growth should also make the best use of the potential of each region; this is how the spatial dimension comes in.

140. Because requirements are many and resources limited, everyone's needs cannot be satisfied at the same time. Therefore, the concept of planning acquires several connotations - national, sectoral, regional and spatial planning of human and natural resources.

141. There are other dimensions:

- Financial: the capital resources required to finance investments and operating costs;
- Monetary: all means of payment that are compatible with development and do not create imbalances such as inflation or recession;
- Political: as a result of an ideological option among the various possible ways of reaching the targets;
- Administrative: the institutional structure to be set up to manage the development process.

142. Spatial planning cannot therefore be treated in isolation from the overall socio-economic planning process. Obviously, planning techniques may differ at each stage. Specific techniques are used in sectoral planning; the same holds true for human and natural resources and spatial planning.

(c) Spatial, regional and physical planning

143. Spatial planning has two complementary and closely linked components:

- Regional planning: this has to do with economic growth in each region and the distribution of such growth in terms of value added per sector within each region; at the same time, it tries to make the best use of regional characteristics and potential and to promote the equitable growth of regional per capita income to bring it up to a level that is comparable with the national average;

- Physical planning: it deals with the optimum location of each programme, project or specific activity and focuses on the rational use of land (town plans, organization of transport and infrastructure in general); its aim is to achieve harmonious and balanced growth throughout a given country.

144. Both types of planning have a common objective, i.e., achieving balanced regional development that fits into national development.

(d) Physical land and spatial planning

145. Although the concept of land development can be considered as being closer to physical planning, it involves more than designing and programming since it also involves active participation in the various aspects of land management. That, at least, is how the concept is understood in France. Since the discipline was developed in an industrialized country it cannot be transposed to a developing country without a minimum of adjustments.

3.2 Objectives and strategies of the proposed approach

146. Apart from approaches, attempts to reduce disparities raise the additional problem of finding accurate information on constraints, i.e., inequalities of all sorts. The information obtained at the regional and national levels is often fragmentary and needs to be processed and disseminated. An important but elusive new component appears when it comes to information on the urban/rural relationship in Africa. What can be considered rural? What is urban? Generally, apart from the capitals and some main cities, the difference between urban and rural areas is difficult to establish. The statistical services find it very difficult to define criteria for working out the differences between urban and rural areas. Although population factors and the development of facilities services are always mentioned, administrative sub-divisions which are more political, often question the statisticians' criteria since the objectives of politicians and statisticians are not the same. It is because of all these factors that a well thought out approach should be proposed.

What should be the main objectives of coherent physical planning?

147. - Balanced economic development throughout a given country that reflects the specific characteristics of each region;

- A reduction of interregional and intra-regional disparities through better distribution of income to the benefit of the underprivileged regions and social classes;

- Attaining a level of semi-industrialization that is well decentralized throughout the country;
- Involving the population in the country's development and in the improvement of its environment are crucial to efforts to reduce the inequalities and disparities affecting African countries.

What strategy should be used?

148. Any sound strategy must be based on a good information system whose data have to be based on the following:

- an appraisal of the situation in terms of requirements, standards of living, potential and prospects;
- an analysis of the data collected;
- a balance sheet.

3.3 Some suggestions on how to put the theory into practice

149. The overall dynamics of the urbanization process in Africa should be studied in order to identify the policies and ways and means of strengthening the role of cities and rural centres and thus converting them into the driving forces behind economic and social development within a strategy based on the integration of the urban and rural economies and optimum returns from investments.

150. After setting up the information system described above, broader studies should be carried out to identify the following:

- changes that affect production structures;
- factors that affect new growth and the organization of human settlements;
- the accompanying stabilizing and destabilizing effects in the social and spatial sectors, ways and means of helping the regions to adapt to the various changes and to define preliminary economic action to be taken.

151. It should be noted that sub-Saharan countries have for a long time relied on the recovery of rural production for their economic development. While this objective has not produced the expected results, it should not be discarded altogether.

152. In a recent study entitled «Evaluation of urban development in Senegal», USAID pointed out that investment strategies should concentrate on urban development which promotes agricultural production (PADCO/USAID, August 1983/1984). This approach highlights the fact that the urban environment in which development must take place is important. This paper's approach is more geared to regionalized development where geographic, economic and social disparities will have to be studied in order to make projections with respect to the growth pattern of cities. Rural aspect will be considered under a rural development plan.

IV. CONCLUSION

153. This paper has tried to use the current situation in Senegal, Guinea, Burkina Faso, Gabon, the Central African Republic, Rwanda, Tunisia, Zambia, Kenya, Ethiopia, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Lesotho to highlight the extent of spatial disparities in those countries. There are still problems of integration with respect to relationships between urban and rural areas; African planners will have to deal with these problems which are obstacles to development.

154. The inclusion of rural space in any study on physical planning seems to be a must. An attempt has been made to provide some answers which are inevitably general in nature in view of the diversity of the areas reviewed. What is certain is that regardless of the measures taken, States will have to relinquish some of their responsibilities which the populations at large should be allowed to assume under integrated development plans supervised by the decision-makers. This study should be considered as an attempt to propose a well thought out approach and not as a case study.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

155. The following recommendations will relate to three different levels:

A. National
B. Sub-regional
C. Regional

A. The national level

156. In the 12 countries reviewed in the present study, the urban areas are growing fast and all activities are clearly centred on the capital cities. In the case of Senegal and Burkina Faso, the situation is compounded by unfavourable climatic conditions. There is an acute imbalance between the regions and urban areas are being developed at the expense of the countryside. If this trend continues, it could result in economic strangulation that would block all development efforts.

157. In deciding on what measures to take African countries should concentrate on finding the causes of and the solutions to the disparities by paying special attention to:

(a) The endogenous factors that could be controlled and which could be improved. There is no point in considering uncontrollable exogenous factors such as the weather or the world crisis;

Examining changes in the population situation by highlighting the density of the population by geographic and administrative zones and other indicators of importance;

Examining the level of urbanization and rurality in the various regions;

Assessing the active population in every administrative region;

(b) Studying regional development in order to assess food requirements and rural migration. The purpose of such a study is to have a clearer picture of the disparities between regions. Factors of agricultural development should be considered at this stage;

Studying industrial development to be able to better assess disparities between regions;

Studying the tertiary sector to have a clearer picture of the spatial distribution of the sector's infrastructure, services and activities.

(c) Tilting the distribution of economic factors in favour of rural areas so as to increase rural incomes and reduce the inequalities between urban and rural inhabitants:

Increase the investment budget for the rural areas;

Strengthen agricultural development;

Bring about a better distribution of agricultural activities;

Provide incentives to agtricultural producers.

158. Such measures will have to be taken in a coherent manner using the approach proposed in this paper.

B. The sub-regional level

159. The imbalances in a given sub-region are a mere reflection of the situation prevailing in the States. This situation is compounded by major constraints of a political nature, sovereignty and autonomy.

160. In order to stop the deterioration of those sub-spaces organizations such as the Organization for the Development of the Senegal River (OMVS) could be established to carry out development activities. The members of OMVS: Mali, Mauritania, Senegal and perhaps Guinea in the near future, are endeavouring to combat a crisis that neither of them can tackle alone. The OMVS programme includes such sensitive sectors as agriculture, navigation and hydroelectricity. If the planned dams produce the expected results, they will have a beneficial impact on the OMVS regions and countries and will help to reduce their imbalances.

C. The regional level

161. It is harder to make recommendations on correcting disparities for such a wide area as the African region which has so many small States. The region should try to clear the of exogenous factors such as the world crisis over which it has no control, by establishing an integrated economic area the first stage of which should be the co-ordination or confederation of sub-regional organizations, followed by an African common market which will be a priority trading area for some agricultural products whose low world prices account for the imbalances in the region. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern African States (PTA) and the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) could help to establish such a common market.

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